1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

621 312 stream must be kept in repair by all the people using the water of the canal throughout its length. If section *B*, the middle section of the canal, is to be repaired, the people of section *A* are not concerned. The people of the villages along sections *B* and *C* must do all the work. If section *C* is damaged, the villagers of that section must do all the work alone. Yet there are times when most of the damage is along the lowest section, and the people, getting no help from their upstream neighbors, harbor resentment.

621 312 628 Each village is allotted a fixed number of days for the use of water for irrigation. In times of drought, villages will open their outlets from the main canals at night when it is not their turn for water in order to steal water from the section whose turn it is, pretending that the dams broke. It is not uncommon for fights to break out over water-stealing, giving rise to long-lasting and bitter feuds between villages. When there is trouble over water the chiefs and elders of villages not involved in the case are invited to act as arbiters. If the damage done is not too serious, a dinner is given by the offenders and apologies are made; but if the damage is too great, the offending village is required to pay part of the taxes due to the T'u-ssu from the plaintiff village. Even such a settlement, however, may become the beginning of a feud.

621 628 778 Minor causes of friction between villages are the stealing of sheaves from the autumn harvest by poor people or, in the spring and summer, damage to the crops of one village by straying animals from another village. The chiefs of the villages concerned patch up such petty troubles without need for arbitration. Every village raises a sacred animal, usually a Tibetan bull yak or a he-goat. These animals are allowed to roam freely and to trespass on fields, and nobody complains of the damage they cause to crops. After a few years, however, a bull begins to turn savage, and sometimes injures people. In 1914 the bull of the village of Narin ripped open the belly of a Monguor of Lungta, who was working in the fields. The village of Narin made apologies, indemnified the family, and killed the bull. The meat was offered to the village of the man who was killed, because the people of a village are not allowed to eat the meat of their own sacred animal. No further trouble followed from this incident.

628 834 533 There is a strict custom that it is not allowed to sing lascivious songs inside a village. The young people of villages that are not friendly sometimes sing such songs in order to tease their neighbors, and fights break out; but if the chiefs of both villages concerned punish the youngsters, there are no further consequences.

628 In summary, it may be said that there are few serious quarrels between villages, except those over canals and irrigation water; in regions where irrigation is not used, in the so-called "dry land," serious quarrels never break out between villages.

[P. 81 a]

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

cold to grow wheat from the beginning and has first to be loosened up and warmed by the sun.

The customs connected with weeding during the growing season are especially worth noting. Men and women take part, the women going to the fields in their best clothes which they change for their working clothes when the work begins. Men and women squat on their heels and work along the furrows of grain, singing as they work. One group answers the songs sung by another group and from time to time all burst into laughter and giggles because these songs are licentious and full of sexual references. Sometimes a man or woman sings a solo, to which all reply in chorus. If a traveler should happen to pass, especially a woman, one of the workers who has a knack for making up a song impromptu will start to sing a description of the traveler, full of suggestive remarks about the supposed purpose of the traveler's journey, with endless lascivious verses about "the way of the lonely hind roaming in search of the stag," and so forth. Only the young people take part in this work, while their elders remain in the family courtyard.

This licentiousness is associated only with the weeding season. The Chinese of this region do not have a similar custom. There are comparable customs, however, in Tibet and also in Southeast Asia; and there were comparable customs among the ancient Sienpi and the ancient Turks. It is open to question whether the Shat'o brought the custom with them when they settled in the region or whether the Monguors learned it from the Tibetans [6] or the Sienpi.

The crops are either plucked by hand or harvested with a sickle, the work being done by both men and women. The threshing is done on the village threshing floor with a primitive stone roller pulled by oxen, horses, mules, or donkeys.

In addition to field agriculture there are small gardens close to each courtyard where the women plant vegetables such as onions, garlic, rape, leek, cabbage, pimento, spinach, watermelons, and cantaloupes.

PASTORAL ECONOMY

Livestock still rank as the second most important economic resource of the Monguors. They raise sheep, cows, horses, mules, donkeys, and pigs and wherever the pastures are sufficient they own as many sheep and cows as possible. Horses are important for prestige,

[6] For references to Southeast Asia (Annam, Cambodia, Laos, the White Tai, the Karens of Burma, the Angami Nagas of Assam, and the Miaos and Yaos of Southwest China), see Christopher Fürer-Haimendorff in *Anthropos* **30**: 916, 1935. See also A. Lietard, *Les Lolo-p'o*, 152, Münster i. W., Achendorfsche Verlag, 1913, and D. Doutreligne in *Anthropos* **25**: 163, 1930; also F. M. Savina, *Histoire des Miao*, 224, Hong Kong, Imprimerie des missions étrangères, 1930. For ancient China see H. Maspero, *La Chine antique*, 237, Paris, Boccard, 1927, and R. Granet, *La civilization chinoise* 1: 190, Paris, La renaissance du livre, 1929.

/51 cont'd/
585 all until the next day, which is the day of the wedding dinner at the home of the son-in-law; we have seen that the number of guests invited to this dinner is prescribed. He will therefore have to politely send some away. To this end he comes to each person who will be sent away, without saying any more, bringing four loaves of bread and one or two pieces of raw meat. This is called pou fen tse, "to 583 431 complete the dinner." They understand and leave with many polite phrases.

585 574 /52/ The ones chosen for the feast the next day try to find lodging for the night, either with neighbors or in the home of the bride; some of them celebrate very late into the night and pass the time singing and drinking. This part of the festivity is often less attractive for us, since the gin spoils its freshness. It has the disadvantage of sending to the wedding dinner the next day at the son-in-law's home many guests with heavy heads and in bad humor because of fatigue from a tiring trip and a night without refreshing sleep.

533 585 The T'ou-jen like to sing at weddings. Their own repertory in the language of the country is not very wide, so they ordinarily sing Tibetan songs. One of the very rare songs in the Monguor [177] language is the one about the origin of the mythical bird Chong-nirwa. (1) It is very often sung at weddings.

104 773

1. Chong is probably the Buddhist Garuda called K'yun in Tibetan. Grunwedel says in Mythologie des Buddhismus in Thibet u. der Mongolei /Mythology of Buddhism in Tibet and Mongolia/, p. 25: semidivine being, deadly enemy of the Naga, a mounted bird, the king of the feathered /tribe/ and his kinsmen.... P. 191, ... is always represented in Lamaism with a thick body, human arms, on which the wings are located, and the horned head of a bird. He is part of the company of the formidable gods and plays

/53 cont'd/

539 831 body without succeeding. The fire goes out continually. She takes her big hairpin and throws it into the fire. The fire flares up and bites the corpse for a moment, then goes out again. She throws on it in turn the copper cup attached to her headdress, her ring, her eardrops; then, taking off all her clothes, she throws them one by one into the fire, and each time the fire burns the corpse a little more. Finally, she jumps into the fire. The fire shoots up, glowing, at once and consumes the two lovers. A tree is seen to come out of the ground at the spot; it has two branches which intertwine but separate above. The husband of the dead wife, in a transport of rage, runs up with his axe to separate the two branches....O, marvel, two wonderful birds fly away from the knot. They were the Chong-[illegible]. (1)

[71]

1. This very old legend is found all over Asia in many various forms. Études asiatiques /Asiatic Studies/, published on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the Far-Eastern School, 1925, Vol. 1, p. 35, "The Peacocks Flew Away"... third-century Chinese poem by d'Aurouseau, and Vol. 1, p. 189, notes 1 and 2, Annamite poem, translated and annotated by G. Cordier.

585 533 539 Another song which the T'ou-jen never fail to sing at a wedding dinner is a Tibetan song. It is enjoyed all the more because it is accompanied by dancing and gestures. It lends itself to a very expressive mimicry. It tells the story of a T'ou-jen Judith. In the T'ou-jen region of Lien-tch'eng the brigand Wang-mang had been terrorizing the region for years. In spite of the magnificent rewards promised by the emperor of China to anyone who could catch him, nobody /54/ was succeeding in taking or killing him; for he was vulnerable only under the armpit. The wife of a T'ou-jen military man by the name of Lou, known in the country for her marvelous beauty, succeeds in seducing Wang-mang, and at night in his tent

/170 cont'd/

L 584 father enters upon negotiations with the girl's father. If the latter's response is favorable, a go-between is sought. He must be an individual who has many children. The go-between is invited to dinner, and during the meal, at which meat and wine are served, he is asked to go to such and such a family to ask for such and such a girl in marriage. He goes there for the evening meal, with one or two pounds of meat and two measures of wine. He makes the proposal, and the next day L [273] he can bring back a favorable answer to the boy's family. They fete him, which is called "drinking the wine of the promise." They wait six months or a year and proceed to the second operation called "drinking the wine of the end of the negotiations." The go-between is again invited to dinner. After the meal he goes to the girl's family, taking along a goat, a pound of salt, and 20 measures of wine. There L [262 231] the goat is killed, and they feast while discussing the conditions of the marriage. After the banquet the go-between returns to announce to the boy's father the conditions, which are nearly always 6 or 7 tael's L [301] of silver and flowered shoes or a turban. If the boy's family is rich, more is demanded: silver bracelets, rings, and earrings and eardrops. Two months before the wedding the go-between conducts the ceremony of setting the wedding day. For that he comes first to the boy's home, from where after a family-style meal he goes to the girl's home to set the day of the wedding. He takes a piece of cloth, a liang of sewing thread, two measures of wine. The day before the wedding a friend L of the family takes a 20-pound goat to the girl's home. The morning 585 of the big day the go-between, who has received two measures of wine /171/ and two goat heads for his trouble, takes to the girl's home 6 or 7 ounces of silver, the shoes, etc. He is accompanied by the boy, who upon arriving at the girl's home prostrates himself to his parents-in-law, thanking them for giving their daughter to him. The daughter herself stays in the kitchen; she must not see her fiancé. L Then the family gives a big feast to the guests. The meal is served M in the courtyard under tents. They sing. The old people especially [533] distinguish themselves by their improvisations. (This sung Lo-lo dialogue can very well be compared with the T'ou-jen song of the toilette, p. 59.) What have you put on your daughter's head? Your daughter

[52 cont.]

[Note on foreign text p. 53-55 cont.]
they keep the ornaments and mementos of the kin group in order to have a guarantee for the good fortune and wealth of the family; cf. Lin Yüeh-hwa: I chia. Above all, the arrow of good fortune seems to be of great importance among the Bon; cf. H. Hoffmann, Quellen [Sources], pp. 190, 184, 178. It plays a special role in the wedding customs of the Bon, as H. Francke has described them in the wedding songs. The wedding customs of the Tujen and their songs show a certain relationship with these Bon customs, which in itself is not surprising since up to the most recent times the Bon religion in Amdo had a strong influence. The conception of the tribal animals, mother-animals, mother-treasures, to which all other earthly animals, treasures, etc. go back, however, belongs to the world-view of the Bon; cf. H. Francke; Hochzeitslieder [Wedding Songs], pp. 8 ff. The tribal animals are also celebrated in song by the Tujen in a song-cycle bearing the name xoni, "sheep." This song-cycle actually stems from the Amdo-Fandse, among whom it is called g. yaṅ-dkar, "white good-fortune," or g. yaṅ-dkar lug, "sheep of the white good-fortune." Although various animals are celebrated in song, the sheep stands in the center as the supreme blessing of good fortune.

If one ties these conceptions together, it may be stated of the yãnsdzia: It bears within it the germs and origins of the gifts of fortune of this world. Living beings are allied more with heaven (are

[66 cont.]

782 [533] Sitting before the obo, the lama gives the appropriate prayers, accompanying them on his hourglass drum and the bell. At the same time the people burn incense at several places, kowtow, and blow the conch. This service may sometimes last the entire day. When the lama is finished with the prayer, he takes the torma to a stone on the obo, sprinkles the obo with holy water, and casts barley on it, over which he lightly blows with his mouth. The people then take something from offerings that stand in front of the obo, pluck something off, and throw some of this into the incense fire and on the obo. The flowers are all thrown on the mound. Meanwhile others have already placed the spears, twigs, and mani-flags on the obo and have thrown the votive gifts on it, as at the month offering. Then all of them circle around the obo, throwing the white stones and praying the obo call. At this point all of them once more make a threefold kowtow, drink tea, and go home.

The prayer service may also last several days. Then people set up tents on the mountain and live and eat there.

527 782 The obo festival: Every year on the sixth day in the sixth month an obo festival takes place. At these festivals the obo is venerated in the morning, as it is at the month offering. A sheep offering and the prayer service of the lama may also be connected with it.

527 All the people from the neighborhood, men and women, old and young, gather at the obo. If the obo terrain is too [541] difficult and not level enough, they gather at the foot of the mountain or on a meadow. There the men hold horse races, [533] people sit around the fire and drink and sing; they eat and [439] dance and laugh. Chinese traders appear, set up their booths, and peddle their wares. -- Formerly, when the old weapons [526] were still used, the horse races were followed by archery, spear throwing, and sword fights. Wrestling matches were especially [178] popular. Nowadays this is no longer the case. Only the horse [541] racing and the singing contests are still held. The mountain- [533] spirit rejoices when the people are so gay (3).

[171]

3. [Foreign text p. 69.] The obo festival is also celebrated by the

[625 cont.]

527 dance and sing, and visit one another. Only after the first full
574 moon on the fifteenth day does ordinary life begin again.

Many days in advance, meat, cakes, etc. are prepared. During the night from the last day of the old year to the first
782 day of the new year no one goes to bed. In the morning an
888 offering is first made to the gods, the family elders are venerated, joy is welcomed (3), and the obo is venerated. In the afternoon

3. [Foreign text p. 628.] Concerning the types of bread, cf. Dom. Schröder, "Ying-hsi," Anthropos, 41-44, 1946-1949, p. 186, Note 3; the entire ceremony of the welcoming of joy is described in the same article.
113

relatives and acquaintances of the village visit one another.

From the second day on the people make New Year's
628 visits outside the village, renew the animal consecration (6),

6. [Foreign text p. 629.] Cf. section, "The Animal Consecration."

533 gather in the yard or on the threshing floor, sing legends and songs, and dance. It is a gay time.

[626] Details

Preparation: As much as a week in advance pigs or sheep
262 are slaughtered, noodles are cut for provisions, the most varied kinds of oil-cakes are baked, especially the tagur bread and filled pastries (3) [see Note 3 above]. It is important to have
273 a large quantity of barley wine, since a considerable amount is drunk everywhere on New Year's Day. The day before, the
356 house and yard are swept, lanterns and lamps are made (1), and

[627 cont.]

527 782 Obo veneration: At the same time or still in the early hours of the morning some family representatives go outside to venerate the obo. On this occasion, after the stone throwing, the air-horses, which are printed on yellow paper, are released. They flutter and whirl about in the wind as a sign of good fortune for the family (4).

4. [Foreign text p. 628.]
Cf. section, "The Mani-tree," Note 7.

527 574 Gratulation visits: At midday the villagers visit one another. One takes five to six loaves of bread, sticks of incense, yellow paper, and a little jug of barley wine and goes to the family with which one is friendly. There the guest places the bread before the household altar, lights the little sticks, burns the paper, and pours a few drops of wine on the floor. After that he kowtows before the altar and gratulates the master of the household as well as the individual members of the family. [576] The one of lower standing or the younger one must always kowtow to the one of higher standing on this occasion. Then they sit down on the kang around the fire, drink tea or wine, converse, and sing. Sometimes a round of dancing also follows in the yard.

When women go gratulating, they take no wine, incense, or paper with them, but only bread and tea. They put the bread on the altar, pour some tea on the ground, and then kowtow. They never sit with the men on a kang, however.

It is obligatory that the younger relatives go to the older relatives. In any case on New Year's Day itself one stays in the village. Only from the second day on do the friends and relatives living farther away visit one another.

527 533 Entertainment: During the first 14 days of the new year the people meet every evening at moonrise in the yards. Incense is burned and singers who tell legends are invited. They take turns singing competitively, during which two persons grasp each other by a lappet of the coat. When one of them

[627 cont.]
527 cannot sing or sings incorrectly, his opponent cuts a piece from
533 the lappet. Thus one can sing away his whole garment in an evening.

Above all, the young people meet on the threshing floor and in a circle sing all kinds of songs. This lasts the entire
[883] night, especially at the first [628] full moon. Only towards morning do they stop. Boys and girls mingle freely in the circle. Small boys dressed in reversed hides represent demons and beat on pieces of wood; others imitate Chinese traders, play all kinds of tricks, etc. (5).

[535]
[171]

5. [Foreign text pp. 628-629.] These round dances are exactly like those among the neighboring agricultural Fandse and Chiafandse. Men and women and boys and girls form [629] a circle. One person leads the song and also indicates the dance movement. The others sing the refrain and repeat the movement together. They also dance in twos to the rhythm of the song. These dances are also performed generally at entertainments, for example, at a wedding, upon the arrival of the lama, etc. There are many kinds of the songs. They are divided into two groups: family songs, which are decent and are sung in the house; wild songs, whose content, taken from love-life, is usually quite crude. The melodies to a great extent are the same as among the Fandse. Besides Tujen songs Chinese and Tibetan songs are also sung. The song given here is Tibetan in its original text. -- At these moonlight dances the young people spend the entire night out in the open, and more than

[171]
[539]
[883]

[628 cont.]

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[533]
[883]

[Note on foreign text pp. 628-629 cont.]
one couple is seen disappearing off to one side. Concerning the types of songs, cf. Schröder, "Hochzeitslieder."

After the fifteenth day the common workaday life begins again. The many oil-loaves, however, are eaten for a long time.

[262]

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[533]

Song: On New Year's the following song is popularly sung:

1. On New Year's one makes a kowtow to the sky, burns incense, and then one eats.
2. If you observe the laws of the emperor, in later life you will become a minister
3. If you do not forget the kind deeds of the parents, you will later live long.

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Word List

New Year: šeni sara = new month.
To celebrate the New Year: šeni sara noġdzini.
Last day of the old year: tsiafudzarē šēlõṅ = of the thirtieth eveni
udurdza xuānuo = day - late.
To slaughter pigs: xġeni ala-.
[252] To bake oil-baking: tsiaṅġuor tsina-.
To distill wine: dērasēṅġē dzinlie-.
To roll thin noodles: narin šēlõṅge dielge-.
To steam pastry: šēmieṅge dzinlie-.
To bake Tachur bread: taġur šdimieṅge sira-.
To celebrate the thirtieth when it grows dark: xara wolgu tsiafudzar noġdzi-.
Please do not sleep today, the gods are to be welcomed early tomorrow morning: niu šēlõṅ bi ndēra, malõṅ siernege purġan dzēliegu-.
To burn a little stick of incense: gudzi šda-; shao-hsiang (Chin.).
To burn paper: bio šda; shao huang piao (Chin.).

[643 cont.]

764 their shoulders and carry it out to the yard gate. Before the gate the water-lamp and the paper basin are emptied. Here, too, the straw that served the bereaved as an underlayer during the deathwatch is burned. The procession goes to the crematory at a rapid pace. Old and young, men and women, follow in colorful confusion.

Young boys go with them. They carry straw, firewood, cypress twigs, a wooden bed or a door for the lama, a white felt mat, and a large iron kettle for melting the butter. At the oven, the men place the box on the ground. The relatives once more burn paper and throw themselves down to kowtow. Then 764 the master of ceremonies steps forward and addresses a few words 537 of farewell to the deceased. He says approximately the following: We have done what we could for you; we invited the lamas, we have prayed, we have given alms. We have made a beautiful box for you; you can be content. Therefore think no more of us and do not return to disturb the peace of our house. Be without care; we shall not forget you and shall continue to pray for you and to make offerings to you.

764 After this speech he distributes money among those [431] present. This is alms and is called "box-money." Now the [533] women once more begin the lamentation. They have a certain melody and express their grief in impromptu words. Then all go home. Only the master of ceremonies, two fire guards, the sons-in-law, the nephews, and the lama remain. The fire is serviced only by the master of ceremonies and the two fire guards. The sons-in-law and nephews assist with other operations.

Putting the corpse inside: The men who remained behind bring the litter to the west side of the oven where the broad slit was left. They put the litter with the back to this opening and draw the wooden wall out, so that the corpse is exposed in the back. Meanwhile the [644] fire guards have piled cypress twigs and wood on the oven floor. The corpse is now put on the firewood in the oven, the back to the east, the face to the west. [775 Then the slit is walled off. The face must be turned to the [823 west because the realm of the blessed is located there, to which he must now migrate.

[825 cont.]
241 It therefore, with the head, is left to be eaten by wolves and
789 dogs. The hide is not used for magic.
778

[791] The misfortune-torma: The Bon priest washes his hands and face and makes a little torma of tsamba mixed with butter about ten centimeters high and three to four centimeters wide. He puts it on a tray or a wooden plate. As extra features he adds in very small quantities: raw mutton or pork, leeks, beets, breadcrumbs, white and black sheep's wool, five kinds of grain, tea leaves, money, silver, gold, five little pieces of cloth, five-colored threads, and black and white sugar and puts a dough-lamp with a burning cotton wick beside them. These extra features also apply to the three other tormas, in other words, to all four little misfortune-tormas.

[533] The extra features, along with the tormas, are thrown
[782] in all four directions of the compass, while the seed-master,
[791] amidst blowing on the conch, makes the great incense offering and the Bon priest prays the appropriate spirit conjuration. For the first four tormas the Bon priest uses only the sounding plate and the bone flute, not the double drum and bell.

In the case of the simple ceremony with only one misfortune-torma, naturally only one direction of the compass can be considered. This one is indicated by the Bon priest himself.
[791]

241 Making the pole-goat: The Bon priest does not concern
789 himself about the goat. The men fumigate and wash the goat
778 as usual and pour milk over it; while the goat shakes itself, they make [826] a threefold kowtow in a circle around it, because
825 the sky accepts the animal. Then the goat is slaughtered and
[787] the blood caught in a basin. In skinning it one does not slit open the belly side, but rather an incision is made below the tail which just suffices to pull off the hide from behind over the head. The head is cut off inside the hide so that it remains whole and unskinned within it. In the same fashion one cuts off the feet, leaving them in the hide. Only then is the skinned goat [illustration appears here] eviscerated and cut up, and the
[252] blood, with the scraps of meat, is stuffed into the cleaned intestines.

[835 cont.] 4. The Procession around the Field

Report

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782 As soon as the seed develops ears in the summer, the procession around the field takes place. One hundred and eight men of the village, with the seed-supervisor, set out on the [778] way to the nearest lamasery and fetch the 108 sacred books. On this occasion they present a large kettle of tea to the lamas; before the Buddha images of the monastery they make an offering of butter for the lamps. The Tujen of this region go usually to the monastery Rgulõn (1); the way there takes an entire day

1. [Foreign text p. 838.]
Concerning the monastery Rgulõn,
cf. the introduction and Part 2, II, 4.

each time. The books are brought into the local temple.

The procession takes place on the following morning. All the men of the village and all soothsayers gather in the temple yard. First a great incense offering is made. Then all [791] the soothsayers do their soothsaying in succession, the spear-[787] soothsayer, the sword-shaman, the litter bearers, the table-god bearers. As many soothsayers as are there must appear. One wants to find out through them how the weather and the harvest will be during the course of the summer.

Once the soothsaying is over, the procession starts moving. At the head goes the spear-soothsayer with the spear, then follow the shamans, the god-litter, the spirit-table, and the 108 book-bearers, one after the other. In this procession [533] the drum beaters, trumpet and conch blowers, cymbal and gong beaters are in single file. Also, all the flags of the temple are taken along, and they are carried by the book-bearers, the flags over the left shoulder and the book on the back. Two men follow behind them, each with a large back-basket of straw, cypress leaves and incense additions, and a jug of pure water. Other men join on at will.

[788] During the entire procession the trumpets are blown, the drums beaten, and the Om mani padme hum prayed. The

[837 cont.]

241 782 533 There are no rules about the musical instruments. [Illustration appears here.] Whatever one has is taken along. The temple drum -- a barrel drum with a drumhead on both sides -- and the conch are always certain to be there. The drum is not very large and is carried on a belt in front of the chest so that it can be beaten on both sides. The conch shell is the same as that used at the incense offering. The trumpets are the [177] ordinary Chinese shawms (la-pa); the cymbals and the gong are also Chinese.

Flags such as are carried during the procession around the field. (Drawing of a Tujen.)

241 782 Among the flags there are black, red, yellow, etc. Usually they are provided with colorful borders. There are also flags with pictures, for example, of the mountain-spirit. Many flags also have Chinese sayings sewed on them, usually in white. There are [532] no special Tujen names for the flags. The number is arbitrary.

Aside from the usual cypress incense the Chinese incense sticks are also popularly taken along; butter, water, tea, etc. are just as desirable as at other incense offerings. More recently yellow paper [177] is also burned in Chinese fashion.

The soothsayers must always carry along their soothsaying tokens, that is, the objects that are the seat of the spirit, in other words, [778] spear, litter, table, etc. During the entire procession, the spirit [791] remains in the object concerned, which is signified by the shaking and rattling of the bells and the movement of the bearers.

241 782 787 Soothsaying: At the soothsaying one tries to learn as precisely as possible when and where the heaviest hail will come down and how one should protect himself against it, whether by means of offerings or prayer or the mani-tree, and the like. At this time the [821] seed-master makes a brief speech to the spirit concerned, charging him with the duties that he must fulfill for a good harvest and telling him that he will be rewarded for his protection by an offering (4).

241 782 4. [Foreign text p. 838.] An offering is usually connected with the

[848 cont.]

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2. [Foreign text p. 850.] Whether the horse's skull represents the riding animal of the spirit could not be determined.

is not fumigated. On its forehead the Bon priests paste an image of a demon. Sometimes another torma is also made.

789 [849] The removal: In the evening of the seventh day
[787] the Bon priests determine by means of their soothsaying books
791 the precise direction in which the litter must be taken away.
[532] They themselves do not go along, but stay on the kang and give the conjuration prayer to the accompaniment of the drum, sounding plates, and bell. Four men take the litter in their hands, not on their shoulders, and carry it in the given direction to the river bank or to a road crossing outside the village. Other men follow with a coal basin, a large back-basket of straw, the horse's skull, and the torma.

When the procession arrives at the designated place, the straw is piled on the ground and the litter set on top of it in the specified direction; in the same direction, the horse's skull is put in front of the door, and the torma is put behind the litter. So that everything will burn well, the people pile around some more straw and set fire to the whole thing. Without waiting to see whether everything goes up in flames, they hurry home and no one may look back.

Interpretation: The demon is carried away in the litter. During the burning he is released and goes in the direction that is indicated by the position of the door. So that he will not be perplexed about the path to take, a crossroads or the river, which, of course, have a definite direction, is popularly chosen.
[782] The animals and accompanying offerings are gifts for the long
[171] migration (4). -- The neighboring agricultural Fandse also have this custom.

[755]

4. [Foreign text p. 850.] This ceremony is very similar to the figure-conjuration of the shamans

[210 cont.]

772
[778]

gurtum-shamans will go into the ideology underlying the whole (god of life, god of war, god of wealth, Pekar, tree of life, arrow of good fortune, spear, ancestral tablets, etc.); cf. also below, pp. 363-388.

[773] [211] The origin of the world is unfortunately recorded only in scanty documents. According to the Geser legend and the aphoristic wisdom of the people, the earth arose through a churning in the water like butter (cream) in milk. It floats on top and is held by a wooden post which one day will start to grow and develop leaves. Then the earth will tip over and bring on the end of the world. The physical sky floats over the earth on a golden peg (nail); in this connection, cf. DMF, p. 115 and p. 445. Here there are conceptions that at first glance contradict those described above, but they can nevertheless be connected with them indirectly. [171] They are recently elaborated variants from Indian cosmology (churning with the world-column; turtle as earth-bearer) and are linked with Mongolic peculiarities (heavenly bell on a golden nail); in this connection, cf. W. Lüdtke, Die Verehrung Tschingis-Chans [The Veneration of the Genghis Khan]. Concerning the polar star as beacon, see further below, p. 883. Over against the earth with the wooden peg (modë ġadasë) stands heaven with the golden peg (xaldan ġadasë). [821] Among the Tujen, however, the polar star is called xaldan ġadasë: xaldan because of its shining color; ġadasë because of its similarity to a nail head. Actually ġadasë means post, peg, nail, tack. The polar star, to be sure, is otherwise conceived as the axle of the sky. Thus, the greening world-tree (earth-wood) and sky-axle (star-gold) correspond with each other. Here, too, the comparison of two parts of the world that are supposed to correspond is suggested: the sky above, the earth below. The conception of the tilting and finally falling earth may go back to the observation that the polar star, the sky-axle, is not in the zenith, but in the north. The way the [533] world-tree and stars belong together is poetically rendered in

[211 cont.]
772 the many riddle-songs of the Tujen, when they sing of the tree,
[533] which bears the sun, moon, and stars in its crown; cf., for example, Schröder, "Hochzeitslieder," loc. cit., Song I and II.
[171] Further connections will be passed over here. Only the great similarity of these songs to the wedding songs of western Tibet will be mentioned; see Francke, Tibetische Hochzeitslieder [Tibetan Wedding Songs].

772 With this harmonious conception of the world and its close connection with human beings, one would also expect
779 a projection of the macrocosm into the microcosm. In Lamaism, of course, these correspondences are carried through to the smallest detail and find their symbolic representation in the well-known syllable-monogram, the rnam bču dbaň idan; in this connection cf. Filchner (Unkrig), Kumbum, pp. 160 f. These minute correspondences of the Lamaist monks, however, are too artificial for the people. They know nothing about them. Security in the great cosmos in which they literally build suffices for them. This world-feeling does not enter into sophisticated speculations.

[212] 3. The Religious Cult

a) The Basic Psychic Attitude

771 The inner attitude of the people toward the good spirits
776 is the consciousness of dependence upon them. They determine the well-being in this world, which, after all, is the focal point of thought, for one does not think much about the beyond. Hence the first thing a person does when misfortune or an unusual situation surprises him is to turn to a spirit, a mightier being, which can help here. How much this attitude dominates the common man is apparent from the above-mentioned basic thoughts of the informant, which provided the articulation of all the customs: "... now I shall tell you first what we do for the good fortune of the family, etc."; cf. "Introduction," Anthropos, 47, 1952, p. 15 [p. 16 above in the HRAF translation]. Everything is thereby subordinated to the religious

[223 cont.]

782 539 Further evidence is also found in the first part of the animal song cycle, the "Moschus deer." Verses 191-201 describe the incense offering in the following manner: "There is a procedure for catching the Moschus deer. Climb the north side (of the mountain)and pick green juniper twigs. Climb the sunny side and gather white kānba flowers. Go down to the flat plain and gather yellow kānba flowers. Go to the bank [224] of the river and burn great incense. Venerate the great heaven, implore the countless gods." (Šge fdzaṅbeṅ ġarġaya, šge tieṅgēre amudadzi, uluon purġan yaṅdzilaya.)

[533] Now one more example from the wedding song, "The Bird Pair." The pair, shepherd and shepherdess, sing alternately: "When the sun rises shining, we pick green cypress twigs. Climbing up the shady side, we gather white kānba flowers. Descending to the flat plain, we scoop up clear water. Climbing up the high mountain, we burn great incense, and burning the great incense it is a good job when we are a pair." (Šge fdzaṅni ġarġaya; šge fdzaṅni ġarġadza, tsiari ġuori sguren-wa.)

782 174 These examples from the popular literature can be multiplied at will. The passages cited, however, suffice to secure the following conclusions: 1. The original form of the incense offering was extremely simple. Juniper twigs, flowers, and purification water belong with it. The offering was purely an aromatic offering. Although fire is naturally necessary also, it is nowhere mentioned. Not even the expression "to set afire" is used. The usual word "ġarġa" is the causative of "ġari-" (to generate, to produce, to rise) and refers here to the smoke. No foodstuffs are offered. The other additions, spices, etc., can be explained from Lamaism (5). Whatever in the way of

5. J.F.Rock also establishes for the Na-khi an original simple form, juniper twigs and butter; the other additions were not added until later; see Naga Cult, pp. 231 f.

foodstuffs is still offered in the present form should be conceived

[231 cont.]
776 heaven that is based upon this knowledge. This is made even
577 clearer by the fact that one ascribes punitive power to heaven.
626 A much-used expression is: "tieṅgëre dardzia, heaven has
[192] punished (sc. him), that is, sent misfortune"; dari- means literally "to tame"; it is used predominantly for the taming of unruly horses. Similarly it is also said when one humbles a proud person: "tolġuę dari- (to force the head down)." (Cf. DMF 45.)
[777] The people popularly explain the blows of misfortune that strike a person as a humbling and punishment by heaven.

776 [232] Above all heaven shows itself as a binding force
585 at the conclusion of a marriage. According to L. Schram
626 (Mariage, pp. 71 and 174), the actual act of concluding a marriage is the kowtow that the bridal people perform in the yard before heaven and the countless burchan. Heaven stands in first place. The significance of the act is shown by this solemnity,
[171] which crowns the other ceremonies. Precisely as among the Chinese, this rite before heaven (among the Chinese without burchan) has the force of law, and the marriage is regarded as concluded. That an ancient conception lies at the bottom of
[533] this is shown in the song delivered, "The Bird Pair," which is sung at every wedding. In it is described how shepherd and shepherdess at the incense offering regard themselves as a pair. (Cf. above, p. 343, where the incense offering is discussed.) Then, however, it is stated with unmistakable unequivocalness: "We venerate the great heaven and are a pair for life (šge tieṅgërni amudadzi, nigë nisëni dzawa dañlieya)." Likewise
[588] the marriage with the mani-tree in the absence of a husband is regarded as having the force of law before heaven; cf. Schram, op. cit., p. 127. The children born of the woman are called in Chinese t'ien sheng tzu (heaven's children). Before this marriage the girl is given the woman's hairdo; this is called
[302] in Chinese pao t'ien-t'ou (to apply the heavenly hairdo). --
[831] The opposite also appears; a girl promises her virginity to heaven and as a sign of it lets her hair hang down: arin fsdzün tieṅgërde fdzë bōlgadzia (the pure girl lets her hair hang down for heaven). -- For the rest, the ancient Mongolic conception of the election of the Mongols by God and their task of rulership might still be exerting an effect among the Tujen.

[233 cont.]

776 Even less can be determined of any creative activity of
773 heaven with respect to the individual human being. To be sure, a current Tujen saying runs: suniędzēne tieńgēre xuradzia, heaven has taken the soul (DMF 361), but this expresses only the rulership of heaven over life and death. There is no mention of a creation of the soul. The Chinese also know a similar phrase: t'ien shou-la t'a-ti ling-hun.

777 Heaven and fate. -- A question suggested in connection
776 with the ancient Mongolic meaning of fate or good fortune,
192 which has had its greatest elaboration in the sūlde cult, is
171 whether something similar is to be found among the Tujen, say, that there might be a fate standing over heaven. -- The Tujen know three expressions for "fate": dzieyan, šdiemdžēl, kimori.

dzieyan is used predominantly in the sense of favorable conditions of life, for instance, when one says: "The girl has experienced a favorable fate," meaning that she has married into a good, wealthy family. The Tujen word corresponds to the Mongolic jayagan, but does not have the latter's essential content. The significance seems, rather, to have been transferred from the original jayagan to the Tujen expression šdiemdzēl.

šdiemdzēl, peculiarly enough, is now found not so much in everyday language as in song. Thus the Tujen songs popular-
●[533] ly end with the verse: moŋgol kuni lõnšda (or kimori) darlagu, šdiemdžēlgē rēdziglaya, in order to erect the air-horse of the Mongols, let (us) lay (= build) a good-fortune foundation. This conception is linked with the image of the central fort. The air-horse is grounded in the central fort. Accordingly the šdiemdžēl would correspond to the basis for fate, which is symbolized in the air-horse. Evidently, ancient conceptions are mixed here with more recent Buddhistic ones, whereby in connection with the Hayagriva figure, fate and horse are brought together. Linguistically the word šdiemdžēl cannot be understood unequivocally. The second syllable ... džēl, however,

N *563 M 439 [438] [543] [437]

/The Monguors/

tion for her hospitality. Larger scale selling and buying are done at fairs held two or three times a year.

Occasionally an ambitious young Mongour will go into the business of long-distance caravan trade with the Tibetans. He will deal largely in mules and saddle girths woven with white wool, which can be sold readily in Tibet, and bring back wool serge cloth dyed red or purple, or white with red or blue stripes. A heavy fabric, it sheds water, and is highly valued by the Mongours. He will also bring back Tibetan incense, dates and so forth to sell to the Chinese.

N *563 M 461

6. Work and leisure

The traditional life of pastoral nomads is rather free and lazy except at the times of seasonal migration. Descendants of nomads, the Mongours still prefer to enjoy long periods of comparative idleness alternating with short periods of intense activity. In their agricultural economy, however, the Mongour men are unable to be quite so indolent as pastoral nomads.

N *563 M 462

In the farming communities, both men and women work in the fields. The men do the heavy preparatory work, plowing and harrowing; the women help with sowing and weeding, as well as with reaping the harvest and carrying the grains to the threshing floor. Women do the threshing. Like their Mongol sisters, they do the housework and care for the animals. Married women work under the supervision of the oldest, usually the mother-in-law.

N *563 M 562 M [504] M [437] [533]

Although their status is inferior, the Mongour women accept it without resentment. Their outlook is conditioned by their milieu. They know what is expected of them, and behave accordingly. Though bound by strict rules of etiquette, they are entirely free to associate with men, to sing and dance in public, and to enjoy themselves. They delight in attending the big festivals at the lamaseries and the annual assembly of the clan, where they meet their friends and visit, and also show off their fancy costumes and headdress. They love to shop at the fairs, and bargain over goods. Both men and women love to sing. During the long, tedious hours of weeding the fields, men and women sing in unison.

N *563 101

G. The Tibetans

1. The people

Hsi-fan is a name applied by the Chinese to the Amdo Tibetans, and to all other non-Chinese tribesmen from Sung-p'an to Hsi-ning. It means Western Barbarians. Some European scholars have maintained that the Hsi-fan are not Tibetans, and suggest that they represent a northern branch of one of the non-Chinese peoples of southwest China, like the Lolo or Moso.

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Granting that there is no such thing as a homogenous Tibetan